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FOR A BETTER EUROPE

By JAN STANCZYK, Polish Minister of Labor

THE people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece occupy Central-Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas. Century after century, the history of these four countries records sanguinary wars, barbaric invasions, savage destruction. They were constantly the victims of armed aggression. In times of peace these people have known prosperity and economic expansion; in times of war "blood, sweat and tears" has been their lot.

These lands are inhabited by hard-working, creative and perseverant people. Countless invasions have failed to crush them. But as separate and disunited entities their conquest was easy. Today, despite temporary occupation by Germany, these four nations go on fighting with indomitable heroism in most difficult conditions.

Enemy aggression, common hardship and trial have brought to these people an understanding of the necessity for political and economic collaboration. It is apparent, therefore, that now and after the war these nations can retain their independence, in this stormy world of ours, only by their international solidarity within the framework of a democratic Europe and a better and fairer world.

The Polish-Czechoslovak agreement was an initial step in this direction.

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EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE. In the north a Poland and Czechoslovakia Confederation, in the south a similar Confederation of Yugoslavia and Greece. All four countries have expressed their intention of establishing close collaboration after victory. If Austria and Hungary were to join this group — a strong economical and political entity of 100 million people would be established in East-Central Europe.

POLAND SPEAKS . . .

"Towards A Federation Of Free European People" From a Polish underground paper.



THE constitution of post-war Europe is one of the basic problems facing human thought today. The restoration of the old Europe, divided by many frontiers and torn by constant conflicts, can no longer be seriously considered as a goal in the present struggle. We all hope that a new and different Europe will arise as a result of this war.

It is this popular and widespread desire for a new deal on the European Continent that Hitler attempts to exploit in his propaganda for a "New Order" which would unite all of Europe under his rule. Such unification, however, would mean unification in a vast prison, under the bitter yoke of national, social, and individual slavery. The love of liberty and the will to fight for it have been the essential traditions in every European's life since the French Revolution. The Fascist "New Order" would mean a complete negation of all that is truly Europe. This perverted "New Order" must go. It will go, and though it leaves in its wake devastation and death, the love of liberty will burn still stronger in the hearts of those who had suffered under its brutal yoke.

The people who today fight against the totalitarian onslaught have other hopes for the future of Europe, far removed from Fascist theory and practice. The Agreement between the Polish and the Czechoslovakian Governments in Exile points the way. It is based on the fullest respect for the national individuality and independence of the peoples involved, but it also provides for cooperation in specific branches of political, economic, and cultural life. The various Governments in Exile seek, through conferences and agreements, to establish a basis for future European unity along the lines of friendship and cooperation,

and many of the British newspapers actively aid in furthering this idea.

As early as last fall we wrote that a New Europe must be created through the establishment of a Union of Free European Peoples. We wrote that such a European union is a necessity deriving from the common disasters and common interests of the conquered peoples, as well as from the need for fundamental changes both in the internal life of the peoples occupying the area between Poland and the British Isles, and in their mutual relations. The strength and success of the Union of Free European Peoples will depend on the consistency and extent to which they will cooperate in the pursuit of their common interests.

We know well that the old diplomacy is incapable of achieving international cooperation. Only the new popular forces, when they have gained decisive influence within their respective nations, will be able to perform the revolutionary act of transferring certain elements of State sovereignty to the Union. *No federation is possible without some abrogation of national sovereignty in the name of international solidarity.* While guaranteeing the national rights of every people, the Federation must recognize and stress the aims and tasks common to all of Europe. In the pursuit of these tasks, in cooperation for common defense, for common economic and general development, the feeling of solidarity will grow in strength and effectiveness.

We have always stressed the need for international solidarity. We are happy to see the idea of a European Union gaining ever wider acceptance, even among circles hitherto hostile or indifferent. However, we believe that true and lasting unity can be achieved only through the concerted action of the broadest popular masses of all the nations of Europe.

"In Central Europe we must begin with that which can be realized first and most easily. I prefer organic growth, from the small to the great, rather than to begin with large units, the members of which have in the past had no real opportunity of knowing one another and of living together. I might add that I should expect that in the course of time a natural bridge will be established between Central European, northern and southern confederations — that is, the Polish-Czechoslovak on the one hand and the Balkan States on the other — and that in this way we shall take a further logical step towards the consolidation of the whole of Central Europe and Europe in general."

DR. E. BENES, President of Czechoslovakia

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

FOR a century and a half before the last war the peoples of East-Central Europe were divided between three great Empires: the Russian, Austrian and German. As the Turks retired to Asia, a number of States in the Balkans attained political independence. The peoples which cover Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean obtained complete freedom by the treaties of 1919. Certain Balkan countries have always looked outwards from this group, partly owing to racial differences but mainly to the influence of maritime trade. The great majority, however, including the Hungarians despite their racial distinction, look towards the centre. The population of the bloc is roughly 100 millions. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, Austria and parts of Poland the countries of this area are lacking in industrial development.

* * *

Broadly speaking, the basic requisite for industry is coke. On the continent of Europe coking coal is found in three areas. The first includes Western Germany, Northeastern France and Eastern Belgium.

The second is around Silesia Moravia, at various times owned by Poland, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Russia. The supply is concentrated in a small area, but it is adequate for all local requirements and for export down the main river valleys. The ownership of the second area has been a bone of contention for nearly one hundred years.

A nation or group of nations must either be self-contained in the sense that an internal exchange of agricultural for manufactured products satisfies the basic requirements of life — or the necessary exchange must be effected by export and import. An



MAP B. EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939
(Maps A, B and C by Mr. P. N. Ommanney.)

agricultural belt around the west coast of Europe makes the Western industrial nations partially if not entirely self-supporting, when supplemented by supplies from their affiliations overseas. The coking coal of the Silesia-Moravia area, in conjunction with the agriculture of the Vistula and Danube valleys, makes up another complete group.

The alignment of the Russo-German frontier before 1914 prevented the development of a complete and balanced economic system, north of the Carpathian watershed.

The countries south of the watershed, and surrounding the Danube, had become united by dynasty into an economic group. Despite great apparent wealth, there was, at that time on both sides of the Carpathians, an uneconomic movement from the centre of primary industry in the main coalfield, before the finished goods moved forward to the final consumers — to the Baltic and Russia in the north, to the Balkans and Eastward in the south (See map A).

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MAP A. EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1914

The shaded squares represent areas of basic requisites for industry, mainly coking coal. It is in these areas that the primary industries are situated, and the black arrows indicate the direction in which semi-finished goods are sent to the areas of secondary industry (represented by the black rings). The arrows with the broken black line indicate the direction in which finished goods are sent to consumers.

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

TABLE A	Wheat	Rye	Corn	Oats	Barley	Meat (1)	Butter (2)	Beet Sugar	Tobacco	Wheat	Rye	Oats	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
COUNTRIES	Percentage of World Production 1937-8 Taken from Information No. 18a of the R.I.I.A.									Crops in Million Quintals and Yield in Q per Ha (3)			Livestock in 1,000 head and Head per 100 Ha Farmland (4)		
Poland	1.3	15.0	0.1	3.9	3.1	2.7	?	5.0	0.6	21.3 12.2	63.6 10.9	26.4 11.7	10,572 41.3	3,188 12.5	7,696 30.1
Czechoslovakia	1.1	3.5	0.3	1.9	3.0	1.4	2.0	4.7	0.6	15.1 16.3	14.4 14.2	12.2 15.9	4,930 59.0	642 7.8	3,611 43.2
Hungary	1.6	1.6	2.4	0.5	1.7	—	0.3	1.3	0.8	23.6 13.2	7.3 11.1	26.0 22.7 Maize	1,750 23.2	1,484 19.7	2,624 34.8
East-Central Europe .	4.0	20.1	2.8	6.3	7.8	4.1	?	11.0	2.0						
per caput	+	+	*	*	*	+	+	+	\$						
Balkans	6.6	2.1	9.5	1.5	4.3	0.8	0.6	2.4	4.8						
per caput	+	*	+	*	+	+	*	\$	+						
France	6.8	1.6	0.5	8.2	6.9	5.1	6.2	8.2	2.0	69.0 13.4	7.1 10.7	42.6 12.8	15,755 45	9,994 28.7	7,117 20.4
per caput	16.2	3.8	1.2	19.5	16.4	12.2	14.9	19.5	4.7						
Germany	3.3	17.7	0.1	9.3	9.7	11.9	15.4	19.7	1.4	44.3 21.2	73.9 16.4	56.2 20.2	20,065 69.8	6,364 18.7	26,007 90.4
per caput	\$	*	=	\$	\$	\$	\$	+	=						

(1) The figures for East-Central European and Balkan countries are probably incorrect. Ha — Hectare = 2.47 acres. Quintal = 220 lbs.
 (2) The figures for East-Central European and Balkan countries are probably incorrect. Poland's exports amounted to 0.24% of world production.
 (3) and (4) The figures are obtained from various sources and are for 1935 and 1937. The figures are intended to indicate comparative degree of enrichment which largely accounts for differences in yields and densities. In livestock the East-Central European and Balkan countries kill a low percentage for local consumption: there is considerable westward movement from those countries to Germany for slaughtering.

The world is apt to forget that the war of 1914 started in Southeastern Europe, that the German plan was to disable France by a swift blow and then conquer all Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The general implication was a forward movement of industry from its mainspring in the Silesia-Moravian coalfield.

Thus Germans were the first to grasp the tremendous economic potentialities and the importance of uniting East-Central Europe as one block.

The 1919 division of East-Central Europe into new States, frustrated the German plans. Partition of the Silesia-Moravian coalfield between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany, naturally led to political and economic friction that never subsided. This coalfield is one economic unit, it cannot be divided because its main purpose is to supply its natural markets in the Vistula and Danube valleys and even the Balkans. Instead of this a large part of its output was directed westward, thus creating there a surplus, in Germany, that was used entirely for armament. Furthermore, the creation of numerous new frontiers in the south, completely broke up the economic system that existed there prior to 1914 (See map B).

So the main problem of post-war reconstruction in East-Central Europe, will be the economic co-ordination of the Silesia-Moravian coalfields with the Vistula, the centre section of the Danube valley and the Balkans.

Both in 1914 and in 1939 the German aggressors sought to seize and unify the Silesian-Moravian coalfield, the whole of the Vistula, the central section of the Danube valley and the Balkans. If Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria are to regain and retain their independence, if Hungary and other Danubian

countries and the Balkans are to be really free, they must work out their policies in terms of economic unity, at least to such an extent as would ensure their basic stability.

From the economic point of view the problem therefore is to examine the extent to which trade may be increased within those countries and across their borders; increased not merely in statistical totals, but so that a steady improvement in the general standard of living shall ensue. This depends in the first place upon natural wealth, and the form and availability of that wealth; and in the second upon its organization and development, both internally and internationally.

The figures in the Table A have been taken from Publication No. 18a, *Raw Materials*, of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The percentage of world production of raw materials in 1937-38 has been tabulated for Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary first separately and then jointly as a potential East-Central European group; for the Balkans as a group; for France with North Africa for produce, but including only the white population; and for Germany as it was prior to the invasion of Austria. The production figures are also shown per head. The accompanying signs for self-sufficiency (*), surplus exported (+), shortage causing imports (\$) and great shortage (=) enable production to be linked with consumption. By comparing the indices of East-Central Europe with those of France and Germany, whose conditions are familiar, it is possible to obtain a rough idea of the standards of living there and the Balkans. Also, by applying a knowledge of local conditions, it is possible to estimate the degree to which these standards could be raised if the natural resources of this area were adequately utilized. The

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OUR CONTRIBUTION TO A BETTER WORLD

By SAVA N. KOSANOVICH, Yugoslav Minister of State
Chairman of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board



THE smaller nations of Europe — especially those of Eastern Europe — must use their utmost endeavors to remove a prejudice and misconception existing in the Western world, particularly in America, based on somewhat superficial observation.

This misconception is that the smaller countries create and generate conflict by their selfish and nationalistic aspirations, their lack of vision and their endless antagonisms. And thus it came about that the little nations were sacrificed to the interests of the larger and more powerful ones, without their case being properly examined, or sufficient attention being paid to their views and problems.

These prejudices are anything but justified, but some degree of responsibility for that rests upon us. Time and time again we have failed to present our case properly. Now that our countries are occupied by the armed forces of a brutal conqueror and our peoples are suffering under a reign of terror, un-

precedented in the annals of mankind, we must strive to give a new voice to our aspirations, a voice that the great democracies will better understand. We must present our case in its true colors. We must convince the Powers, first of all, that we, the small nations of Eastern Europe, want to live in peace with one another, in peace based on mutual respect and strengthened by mutual assistance.

We face a common future. We have common needs and common desires, common conditions of life, common social and economic structures, and — last but by no means least — even common enemies. If we present our problem as a whole and come out before the world together, many issues will be clarified, many misunderstandings removed. We must coordinate our efforts, at home and abroad. If we do so we can face the world and the future with assurance, confidence and hope well founded.

We have already made some progress in that direction, although our countries are invaded and our citizens in exile must assume responsibility for many things. We have the Czechoslovak-Polish Declaration of 1940, extended and amplified in 1942; we have the Declaration of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece signed in 1941 at the International Labor Conference, we have the Treaty signed between Greece and Yugoslavia on January 15 of this year. All these acts of far-reaching importance show that we are definitely taking the path of tomorrow, the path that will enable us to make a worthy contribution to the better world of the future upon which our hearts are set.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Greece, Poland and Yugoslavia, in connection with the Post-War Reconstruction Resolution passed by the International Labor Conference in New York jointly declared on November 5, 1941, their intention of cooperating as closely as possible in the struggle for freedom and in the preparation of post-war reconstruction.

To give practical effect to this Declaration the four Delegations of Eastern and Central Europe established on January 7, 1942, the Central and Eastern Planning Board.

From an official statement of its aims, we take the following excerpt:

"We agree on the essential need of close collaboration among peoples and governments of the small nations of Central and Eastern Europe, while war is still being fought, and later, after peace comes back to the world. The East European region has its own problems and those must be handled and solved by mutual consent and friendly collaboration of the respective nations. Doing so they believe that the democratic world of today and tomorrow will be enriched by a new sincere effort and by a constructive experiment in the way of the building of a better order.

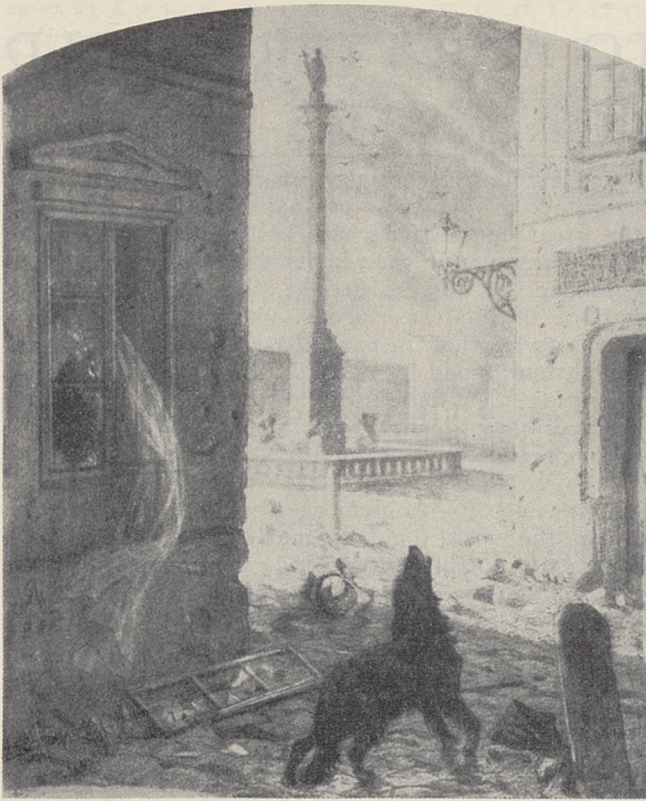
"The cooperation of all these nations constitutes a step towards the establishment of a future world order based on mutual friendship.

"It is in that spirit that the idea of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board was conceived, and it is in that spirit that its founders want to see it work for the benefit of their peoples, their part of the world, and all democratic peoples . . ."

This statement was signed by Sava N. Kosanovich, Yugoslav Minister of State, who is chairman; by the three deputy chairmen, Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs; Aristides Dimitratos, Greek Minister of Labor; Jan Stanczyk, Polish Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, and by Feliks Gross, the Secretary.

POLISH PATRIOTIC ART

By SIGMOND ST. KLINGSLAND



ARTHUR GROTTER: WARSAW 1861

ART in Poland only became Polish art after Poland had ceased to exist as a separate national entity, following the three partitions at the end of the XVIIIth century. Of course this statement must not be taken too literally, for Poland has every reason to be proud of her high and very ancient artistic culture, to which many churches, castles, and works of art, some dating even from pre-Gothic days, bear eloquent testimony. Among them are many masterpieces that will bear comparison with the finest monuments of other lands and other

epochs, yet they rarely convey an impression of national origin, unless it be by some secondary detail of local color or design in the general composition of the painting or statue, usually of religious character.

Poland had to live through the most terrible of national tragedies before her artists, stirred to the very depths of their souls by the trials and afflictions of their Motherland, felt the imperious urge to recreate, by the genius of their imagination, what they had lost through the brutality of Might overpowering Right. An additional circumstance, but of no small importance, contributed to a more rapid Polonization of creative art and gave it a more expressive character. Many Polish artists left their country, for the German and Czarist "Reign of Terror" was more than their artistic natures could stand. Exiled, uprooted, emigrated without hope of return, they were incurably homesick, but this yearning for their native land proved an exceptionally powerful stimulant to their creative imagination, that ever and always sought its inspiration in their distant Motherland. This trend, so obvious to anyone conversant with Polish literature of the XIXth century, is equally conspicuous in Polish painting of the same period: as witness an Orłowski sketching magnificent figures of Polish horsemen, even on Restaurant menus, for which English collectors pay their weight in gold; a Grottger whose admirable engravings a graphic epic of the Polish insurrection of 1863, are

piously treasured in the Budapest Museum; a Brandt, who paints with loving talent the picturesque scenes of Polish rural life, for the greater joy of Austrian art-lovers; a Wierusz Kowalski made famous by his wolves howling in the moonlight on the snowy plains of Poland, whose pictures are sought by all the art dealers of Munich; as witness so many others who with brush, burin or pencil give eloquent expression to their love of country. This magnolious blooming of Polish national art, even — why mince words? — of Polish patriotic art was the natural and logical outcome of the utterly abnormal way of life imposed upon the entire people by their German and Russian oppressors.



J. CHELMONSKI: PLOUGHING

PRUSSIAN HOMAGE

painted by
Jan Matejko

A HOHENZOLLERN KNEELS BEFORE A KING OF POLAND

Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, last Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, does homage for the Fee of East Prussia to King Sigismund I, in the Market Place at Cracow (1525)



In a country where children were whipped by their Prussian teachers for saying their prayers in Polish; in a country where teaching Polish was a crime as great as treason to the Tsar; in a country where it was strictly forbidden to read the works of national poets and to sing the national anthem — in a country where the entire nation, deprived of the use of its mother-tongue, was muzzled with brutal and idiotic severity, where the slightest patriotic reaction might lead to exile in Siberia, in such a country the silent eloquence of plastic art attained to heights unknown elsewhere.

A literary allusion or an incident of national life as the central feature of a painting acquired the most far-reaching importance. And it is not without interest to note that the patriotic appeal of the subject chosen, in no way detracted from the artistic value of the painting, considered as a work of art. By the force of circumstances such subjects had to be chosen from the past history of Poland. Side by side of Sienkiewicz, writing his moving tryptic "By Fire and the Sword", "The Deluge" and "Messire Wołodjowski," to hearten his fellow countrymen, there stood Matejko who, in his monumental compositions, immortalized the most glorious episodes of the age-old history of Poland, to make firm the faith of the Poles in their future. Side by side of a Prus telling the simple tale of a Polish peasant's obscure existence, the story of a man of the soil who makes of his tiny plot of land an "outpost" — the title of the book — in the struggle, sublime in its heroic stubbornness against German colonization, and finally wins out against his more powerful adversary, there stood Julius Kossak, whose delicate brush of a superb aquarellist, made to live again the

most famous charges of Polish hussars, lancers and light-horse, charges that have become proverbial in the military history of the world. And I have mentioned the names of only two of these patriotic painters! Other artists, denied the free choice of subjects for their work, made them Polish by purely pictorial treatment that clearly revealed their nationality, were it only by the striking coloration of wild flowers, the brilliant variety of peasant costumes, the dynamic rhythm of popular dances, the very national stamp of old customs — that all lent individuality to their paintings, about the Polish character of which there could be no possible doubt whatever. It all breathed a joy of living, just as typically Polish, that filtered like a warming ray of sunlight into the benumbed souls of the masses who sought and found encouragement, presented to them in a form as beautiful as it was accessible to their understanding.

However, in that part of Poland then under Tzarist rule, even this silent tribute to the past was rigor-

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J. BRANDT: Guide

GERMANS! THEY LUST TO CONQUER!

In their intellectual isolation the German philosophers and savants, historians and politicians represented German civilization and culture as the summit of human development, and in the name of this usurped superiority proclaimed the right of Prussian Pan Germanism to subjugate by force and violence.

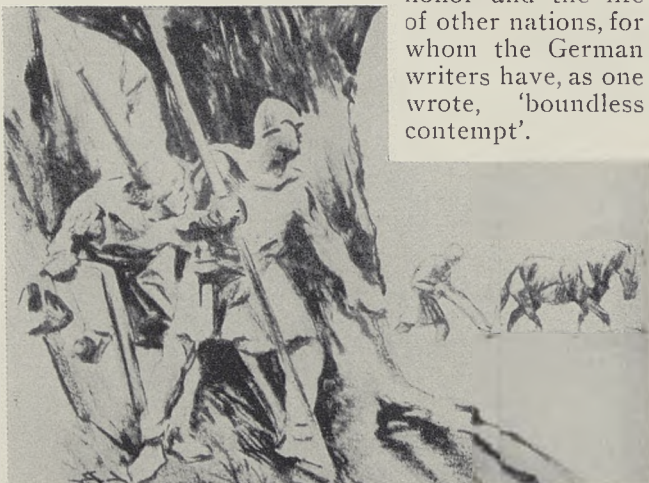
T. G. MASARYK

FOR 150 years the Germans have been persuading themselves that they are a chosen nation, called to take on themselves the government of the world. This conviction long since permeated the German masses, who hypnotized by this 'exceptional quality' of their nation, are convinced that by undertaking a new war every few decades they are fulfilling Germany's sacred mission. The German intellectual class has worked incessantly to implant in the people this conviction of the superiority of the German nation. And of this sowing all Europe periodically reaps the sanguinary harvest.

On what has German literature nourished the nation? The Germans alone are a true nation. The Germans are the salt of the earth. The Germans represent the highest moral and intellectual values of humanity. The Germans are the supreme result of European civilization.

Even the barbarian invasions which plunged Greco-Roman civilization into the abyss for long ages are interpreted by Germans as a source of progress and human regeneration.

In this atmosphere of self-glorification it is understandable that the German national hymn should begin with the words: '*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, Über alles in der Welt.*' For that is the practical result of exalting Germans to the height of humanity. If Germans are the source of all progress, the deduction necessarily follows that for the good and the greatness of Germany one may, and even must, sacrifice everything, but most of all the honor and the life of other nations, for whom the German writers have, as one wrote, 'boundless contempt'.



"As far as Germany extends she is spoiling culture."

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Ecce Homo*

This declaration might remain a 'literary curiosity' for sane-minded people, but for the fact that it was the cause of the second European war. For the Germans generally, and German youth especially, take it quite seriously, and draw from it certain practical conclusions, carving a road by fire and sword for the chosen nation to fulfil its mission of governing the world.

Obviously, a nation which is chosen and called to the government of the world must first have its "living space." The conception of European equilibrium is in that nation's view fundamentally false, since it sets limits to German dynamism, which can have no limits but the limits of the world. Although Wilhelm II's favorite conception, 'a place in the sun', renamed LEBENSRAUM by Adolf Hitler, and now, for German diplomatic requirements, in turn become Ordnungs-Raum, came into being during the first half of the nineteenth century, and thereafter was a permanent concept in German literature, it does not connote something geographically defined. It is a variable conception, whose application is dependent only on German strength. Fundamentally, LEBENSRAUM connotes in German minds all the accessible world, on the whole of which they would like to impose their *pax Germanica*.

As a chosen nation, Germans do not bother to inquire why German LEBENSRAUM has to arise on the ruins and rubble of other nations who, making no claim to LEBENSRAUM, none the less have at least a right to life and the right to preserve the heritage of their forefathers.

The theory of LEBENSRAUM is complemented by another theory, namely, that just as at the head of a nation must be a Führer, so among the nations there must be a Führer-Staat, to which all others must be subject and obedient. The Germans, of course, have no doubt whatever that this Führer-Staat should be the Reich.

"The Greeks and the Romans came to their maturity when they spread beyond their own confines. The Germans, on the contrary, began by expanding, by overwhelming the world and mastering the worm-eaten and rotten civilized States."

—G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, edition 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 415 ff.

"... Thus in the history of humanity the sacred races were formerly the Greeks, as a nation, and now in their turn the Germans, as a cosmopolitan people."

—Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, 1810

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EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

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comparison is of further interest since, by reason of the different forms of natural wealth, France typifies a self-supporting economy and Germany one dependent upon international trade. Hence, by drawing the natural conclusions from the comparisons it is possible to forecast a future economy for East-Central Europe and for the Balkans.

East-Central Europe and the Balkans are heavier consumers of wheat and rye, lighter of meats. This is in accordance with differences of race, the greater proportion of rural population, and the accepted lower standard of living. Together, they are producers and exporters of all foodstuffs required in a high standard of living, except, of course, purely tropical produce. They use comparatively little agricultural fertilizer.

The present statistics, when amplified by those of farming economy, indicate that the East-Central Europe and Balkan farm lands could feed a larger and richer population, and continue to produce an exportable surplus. Furthermore this could be accomplished mainly by the use of home-grown or produced cattle fodder and fertilizers.

* * *

The geographical distribution of the mineral wealth in East-Central Europe and the Balkans is a matter of great significance. The Silesia-Moravia coalfield lies almost exactly at the heads of the Vistula, Oder and the Moravia watershed and in the only opening through the mid-Continental mountain chain. All other mineral wealth of East-Central Europe is ideally situated to serve the industries which exist or may be developed on the banks of the great rivers.

Another factor in the operation of the East European mineral wealth is the limited area of deposits.

For instance, the coal seams of Silesia-Moravia, although rich, lie in a boomerang-shaped field with a diameter of about 90 miles. Instead of being divided between several countries as in the past, the entire

field should be worked as one unit, coal for the various uses being drawn from those mines which are most suited for the purpose, and distributed or processed for the joint use of the East-Central European and Balkan industries and requirements. The same applies to almost all mineral resources in the East-Central European mountain region. Certain minerals predominate only on one side of the watershed, some on the other. The only practical solution is that all minerals should be made equally accessible to the industries on both sides, and this consideration should guide policy throughout the economic system under review.

East-Central Europe's mineral resources, even those which are found in great abundance, and the products manufactured therefrom, are handicapped in

the open world markets, owing to the remoteness of this region. This increases the cost of transport to the West. Moreover, there is nothing outstanding in the quality of the East-Central European deposits to offset this disadvantage. Consequently, the most profitable manner of utilizing the natural wealth of industry would be to supply local demands and to export to the southeastern and northeastern markets in preference to those of the West.

The unique mid-continental position of the main coalfield and its equal accessibility both to the Vistula and to the Danube, the complementary nature of other minerals found on either side of the Carpathian mountains, the limited extent of most sources,



MAP C. EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AND BALKANS.
Proposed economic collaboration after this war.

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Yugoslavia and Greece have now also decided upon the closest political, economic, monetary and military collaboration.

Realizing the necessity of economic and social ties as a basis of future collaboration, the delegations of Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland and Yugoslavia represented by their Labor Ministers signed a joint declaration to this effect on November 5, 1941 at the International Labor Conference in New York.

At this Conference the United States Delegation, in the name of its government, employers and workers, proposed the creation of a Planning Committee in the I.L.O. for post-war reconstruction of the world. This resolution was unanimously accepted.

President Roosevelt, at the last meeting of the International Labor Conference in the White House, in connection with this resolution referred to I.L.O. as "an invaluable instrument of peace."

At this meeting it was also suggested by the representatives of the four countries that these States be represented on the Planning Committee to be organized.

Mutual collaboration continued, after the close of the Conference — and we devoted ourselves to the creation of a body that would work on reconstruction plans for Central-Eastern Europe within the scope of the resolution passed by the I.L.O.

This body was formed at the Consulate General of Poland in New York on Jan. 7, 1942 when the Central and Eastern European Planning Board was created to plan for the economic rehabilitation and reconstruction of this sphere and prepare bases for united action.

What does the creation of this body mean?

It means the passing from words to deeds. The value of declarations that are not implemented can be but tactical and temporary. The creation of a body to implement such declarations connotes the existence of definite plans for action.

"Our aim is to help all nations in their fight to free themselves from the tyranny of Hitler, and then leave them to arrange their lives freely on their own soil in any way they wish. Our war aims are not and cannot be to impose our will and our system on Slavonic or any other of the oppressed European nations who are waiting for our help. We shall not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations."

JOSEPH STALIN

AREA AND POPULATION

of the Four East-Central European Nations

POLAND:	Area — 150,040 square miles Population — 34,849,000
CZECHOSLOVAKIA:	Area — 54,250 square miles Population — 14,730,000 (1930)
YUGOSLAVIA:	Area — 95,558 square miles Population — 16,200,000
GREECE:	Area — 50,257 square miles Population — 8,500,000
TOTAL:	Area — 350,105 square miles Population — 74,279,000

The Central-Eastern European Planning Board is the first international body formed in this region. It is a realization of the desire of our four countries for a coordination of their mutual aims. It expresses the will of peoples who have suffered and been put upon for centuries, to arrive at brotherly understanding and fraternal cooperation.

Obviously we must consider Central-Eastern Europe in relation to Europe and the world order. Our conception of world order is not confined to the selfish interests of this region.

Our four countries can become a vital factor in world peace and in the economic and political stability of Europe by cooperation with the United States, the British Commonwealth of nations and European countries, in particular Russia with which we must work together sincerely and closely.

Our Central and Eastern European Planning Board is in actual existence. It is a hard fact. We are fighting for a free world — a world free from fear and want, from oppression of one nation by another, free from totalitarian domination. Its task is to make plans for future collaboration that will finally ensure work and bread to all. The soldier returning from the front, the citizen released from slavery, must not be faced with misery and unemployment.

We are fighting for a better world! We will not go back to the pre-war world in which the inhumanity of man's greed led to idle hands and down-trodden masses, to starvation and warehouses bursting with food and raw materials. Of that everyone in the Allied camps is convinced. Suffering people, from the Baltic to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas know it even better.

Our fraternity, born of bloody sacrifice and comradeship in arms will be strong and lasting. It will survive War and Victory. It will ensure to our four countries not only freedom but prosperity; it will be the sure basis of world peace, economic collaboration and social progress. On it will rest the world of the future.

P O L I S H P A T R I O T I C A R T

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ously suppressed. Russia insisted that the past of Poland remain dead and buried. The bringing to light at the end of the last century of Polish "folklore" marks a definite stage in the crystallization of our national style. Polish patriotic and popular art — of great pictorial originality, faithfully reflecting the essential traits of Polish psychology, became an unfailing source of inspiration to Polish artists of that generation.

Within the restricted compass of this article it would be impossible to mention even the principal names of the galaxy

of painters, sculptors, engravers, decorators to whom Polish Art owes its magnificent progress of recent years as well as its world-wide fame. At international exhibitions in all countries the most flattering appreciations and the highest distinctions have been

showered upon it and everywhere it is recognized as a valuable contribution to modern pictorial Art — Chelmonski, Wyczolkowski, Tetmajer, Wyspianski or Skoczylas, to take at haphazard a few names of artists who have passed to the Great Beyond, after shedding lasting lustre on a new and essentially Polish Art.



W. SKOCZYLAS: HUNTING IN THE TATRA (Cartoon for Tapestry)

G E R M A N S ! T H E Y L U S T T O C O N Q U E R !

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"The regime which is placed at the head of the German people is obliged to put forward these national claims for the co-possession of world hegemony, and to ensure that these claims, *by good ways or violent*, shall come in their time into their rights. The German nation must know why for decades to come they will have to prepare with increasing exertion of all their national strength to arm themselves and to fight."

—Pamphlet issued by the All-German Association, 1891.

"... And the time will certainly come when the Dutch, the English, the Danes, the Swedes will salute their spiritual forebears not only in Luther, but in Bismarck.

"... That is the call of blood!"

—Julius Langbehn, 1890

"The German race is called to span the world with its dominion, to make the most of the treasures of nature and of labor power, and to utilize the passive races as serving members of its culture."

—Ludwig Woltmann, 1903

"Our race with its culture is superior to all the other nations and races of the earth; for ... our civilization has reached a height where it incomparably excels and dominates that of all the other nations and races of the earth."

—Prof. Julius Ludwig Reimer, 1905

"Germany is the center of God's plans for the world."

—Pastor Walther Lehmann, 1915

"Every State is entitled to make resolute demands upon other States, if these latter unjustly take from it the air and light in which, *in its own opinion*, it must grow and develop."

—Ernst Moritz Arndt, 1803

"Germany has the historic task of organizing Europe under her leadership."

—Otto Juliusburger, *"Europe unter Deutscher Führung,"* in *Monistisches Jahrhundert*, Nov. 1914, p. 651.

"Therefore the only possibility which Germany had of carrying a sound territorial policy into effect was that of acquiring new territory in Europe itself ... Consequently it would have been more practical to undertake that military struggle for new territory in Europe, rather than to wage war for the acquisition of possessions abroad."

—Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 127-8

"For the young Germany there are no formulas into which we can compress our national claim to existence. For us there can be no final balance of power, because we know that this balance changes from year to year under the pressure of the German impetus to live."

—*Völkischer Beobachter*, April 12, 1939

YUGOSLAVS JOIN POLISH ARMY

A FIRST group of Yugoslav soldiers recently joined the Polish army training camps in Scotland. They succeeded in escaping from their country and reached England where they joined the Polish forces to continue their fight for freedom. The fact that these Yugoslavs elected to join the Polish army is striking evidence of the close and friendly ties existing between Poland and Yugoslavia. The picture at the right shows the group of the Yugoslav volunteers entering the Polish camp



led by Polish (left) and Yugoslav (right) officers. The Poles welcomed them with shouts of "Zivela Jugoslavija!"

The King of Yugoslavia, Peter II, later visited the Polish camp in Scotland. The picture at the left shows the King with President W. Raczkiewicz of Poland reviewing Polish tank units. This royal visit gave expression to the fraternal relations between these two countries, which it is hoped will lead to political and economic collaboration after the war.

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

(Continued from page 9)

except coal and timber, their comparatively great distance from the sea and river ports — these are the outstanding features of the industrial wealth of this region. *All this indicates that the natural wealth of this region should be used in the first place for consumption in the home market.*

From the economic point of view the division of East-Central Europe into two systems, one north and the other south of the Carpathians, is impractical. It would be necessary to organize the Silesia-Moravia coal basin and its heavy industries on a basis of mutual cooperation, so as to create an economic nucleus in that region. Experience elsewhere has shown that such a solution is beset with insurmountable difficulties and would be a permanent source of conflict.

A Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation has none of the disadvantages inherent to separating the Danube and Vistula basins. It would include a very wide

range of agricultural produce, from the rye grown on the Baltic shores to maize grown south of the Carpathians. It would eliminate all friction over the ownership of coal and other minerals on the upper Carpathians.

By far the best solution from the economic point of view, would be close collaboration between the Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation and some of the Balkan States, like Yugoslavia and Greece, based on the Silesia-Moravia coalfield. The position of Hungary calls for special consideration. At one time Hungary was united with Austria and Bohemia, which proved advantageous to her. If economic arguments prevail, it is more likely that she will elect to collaborate with the new East-Central European and Balkan group. As regards Austria, her future is mainly a political issue because she is lacking in natural resources. If Hungary and Austria could both be included in this new economic group, than an ideal and self-sufficing unit would be created (See map C).